

# SCOTLAND'S STORY

**38**

**A poetic genius  
who loved liberty  
– and the ladies**

**The odd couple of  
British literature**

**Scots doctors  
who influenced  
world medicine**

**Edinburgh: forged  
by fire and religion**

**Scotland's role  
in America's War  
of Independence**



  
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ATLANTIC  
OCEAN

**1759**

Robert Burns is born in a clay cottage in Alloway, Ayrshire.



Orkney

NORTH  
SEA

**1771**

Tobias Smollet's *Humphry Clinker* is published.



**1776**

Scotland has a profound influence on American Declaration of Independence.

**1786**

Burns' lover 'Highland Mary' dies with his child.



**1785**

Burns begins to challenge Kirk morality.



**1791**

James Boswell's highly acclaimed *Life of Samuel Johnson* is published.



**1790**

Adam Smith, economist, sociologist and philosopher, dies.



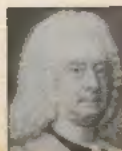
**1796**

Burns dies in fevered agony as a failed exciseman in Dumfries.



**1800**

Scotland's leading role in medicine partly due to efforts by Edinburgh's Lord Provost Drummond.



**In Part 39:  
The birth  
of industry**

PART OF  
IRELAND

North  
Channel

PART OF  
ENGLAND





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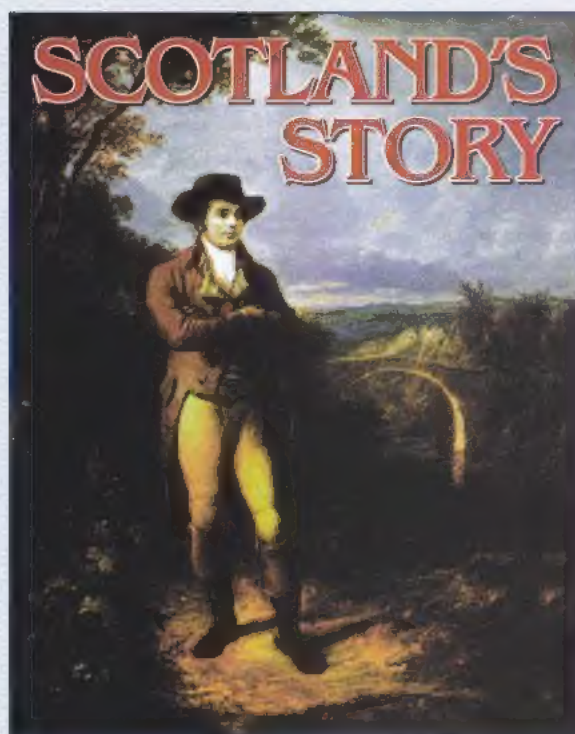
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**COVER:**  
The famous Burns' portrait painted by Alexander Nasmyth was produced 32 years after the Bard's death.

# Poetic genius walked on Ayr

Robert Burns was a small farmer who lived in the second half of the 18th century in a small Ayrshire village on Scotland's south-west coast. He was also a poetic genius. These are the bare facts about the life of a man who reigns over all pretenders to the throne of the most celebrated Scot in history.

Why not Wallace? Why not Robert the Bruce or Mary, Queen of Scots? Because the international appeal of these other great Scottish icons – notwithstanding Wallace's recent popularity boost – is dwarfed by that of the man who gave the world the pithy philosophical 'To A Mouse', the achingly beautiful 'A Red, Red Rose' and the universal 'Auld Lang Syne'.

Indeed, popular interest in the lives of other great Scottish icons such as Wallace, for example, may have been significantly diminished had it not been for the stimulation provided by Burns' own rousing 'Scots Wha Hae'. And the impact Burns had on other popularisers of Scottish history and culture, such as his immediate follower, Sir Walter Scott, is incalculable.

Burns was a far from perfect character, his failings – in

particular his often risible attitude to women – having been rightly criticised.

But in many ways, in his very human frailties and passions, lies the secret of his enduring appeal.

Burns didn't just write with a chauvinist's pen, as in 'Comin Thro' The Rye', he lived the life, too. And his poems reflect how he allowed himself to be prostituted to the glamorous but hollow world of high society – playing on the interest provided by his 'credentials' as a poor farm-boy turned poetic genius.

Along with these and many other contradictions, is Burns' ability to break down barriers between people, to bring classical literature and philosophy to those who would scarcely be exposed to it otherwise, to make anglicised Scots merchants and lofty aristocrats appreciate the worth of the lives of the 'common people' in traditional Scottish society and to make those same 'common people' want to stand up and fight for equality with their 'superiors'.

Above all, Burns' timeless works of song and poetry move all sorts of people today, as in his own day, to appreciate the value inherent in a nation, its people and their culture.



# Breadline farmer but a poet of rare genius



■ Alexander Nasmyth's 1828 full-length portrait of Burns was painted 32 years after the poet's death, but was authenticated by studies taken during Burns' lifetime.

**Burns' lot was to be born into poverty, and although he rose to be feted by the highest in the land through the power of his pen, it was in poverty that he died**

**R**obert Burns was born on January 25, 1759, in a cottage that his father, William Burnes, originally from the North-East of Scotland, had built with his own hands after moving from Edinburgh, where he had worked as a gardener for one of the new 'improving' landlords.

By the age of 36, he had saved enough to set up on his own and acquired the plot where Burns' Cottage now stands. William Burnes was ambitious and, along with some neighbours, he engaged a schoolteacher, John Murdoch, to educate his children.

Murdoch introduced the young Burns to selections of poetry in English and also to the tradition of poetry in Scots represented by a modern version of Blind Harry's 'Wallace'.

Although he returned to Murdoch briefly in 1773, as a boarder in Ayr, and then attended a school at Kirkoswald in 1775, Burns' sustained education ended when his father took on a farm at Mount Oliphant in 1768 and then another at Lochlie, from 1777. The farms involved all the family in a constant round of daily labour.

Throughout, however, Burns was acquiring from his mother a wide knowledge of the folk tradition which would inspire much of his own poetry, and he was fortunate, not only in his involvement with various clubs such as the Tarbolton Bachelors, but in a series of individual friendships – such as that with John Rankine of Adamhill, which helped him develop a wide awareness of contemporary culture.

The farms on which Burns worked for his father were poor and the terms of their rent inflated. As Robert developed his erratic self-education – acquiring some French and Latin, reading the classics of English literature and the Scots works in Allan Ramsay's 'Tea-Table Miscellany' – he watched his father being gradually beaten down.

The experience was to fire in him the sense of social injustice that was to be the inspiration of some of his most powerful satires and that was, in the years of the French Revolution, to make him





■ The 'auld clay biggin', Burns' cottage at Alloway, outside Ayr, where the poet was born in a storm that flattened trees in the area on January 25, 1759.

a suspected sympathiser with the Revolutionaries.

William died in 1784, leaving Robert as head of a household, which was now tenanted on a farm at Mossgiel, near Mauchline. From the previous year Robert had begun to keep a commonplace book, containing the "Observations, Hints, Songs, Scraps of Poetry etc", of a man who described himself as having "little art in making money, a great deal of honesty, and unbounded good-will to every creature rational or irrational".

The poetry, however, was closely associated with another art in which Burns was well-versed, for the opening poem is introduced by the comment:

*"There is certainly some connection between Love and Music and Poetry... I never had the least thought or inclination of turning Poet till I once got heartily IN LOVE, AND THEN RHYME AND SONG WERE, IN A MANNER, THE SPONTANEOUS LANGUAGE OF MY HEART".*

His first poem had been composed in 1775 for Nelly Kirkpatrick, when they were 'stooking sheaves' together, and by 1785 he was challenging the morality of the Kirk in writing a poem of 'Welcome to his Love-Begotten Daughter', born to the family servant Lizzie Paton:

*Tho' now they ca' me, Fornicator,  
And tease my name in kintra clatter,  
The mair they talk, I'm kend the better;  
E'en let them clash!  
An auld wife's tongue's a feckless matter  
To gie ane fash. -  
Welcome! My bonie, sweet, wee Dochter!  
Tho' ye come here a wee unsought for;  
And tho' your comin I hae fought for,  
Baith Kirk and Queir;  
Yet by my faith, ye're no unwrought for,  
That I shall swear!*

It inaugurated the period of Burns' most

prolific writing, leading up to the publication in July, 1786, of the Kilmarnock edition of his poems.

In the months preceding its appearance, however, he was in turmoil over another pregnancy, this time Jean Armour's, a disgrace which he sought to alleviate by declaring they were betrothed and that the child would therefore be legitimate.

But Jean's family were staunch in their refusal of their daughter to the as yet unpublished poet, and in his state of rejection Burns turned to another young woman whom he had met in Tarbolton church - Mary Campbell, who was from a Gaelic-speaking area on the Firth of Clyde. Soon, she, too, was pregnant and was to become the tragic figure of his poem Highland Mary.

At the moment when his edition of poems was being hailed on all sides as a work of genius, Burns, to escape the Armour family's pursuit of him for the support of what turned out to be twins, decided to emigrate to the West Indies - something he had several times contemplated.

He was due to sail from Greenock and it was there that Mary Campbell went to wait for him, but while he tarried at the behest of friends who did not want to lose Scotland's new-found poet to the Indies, she had died and been buried with her premature infant.

Uncertain whether he intended to make his fortune by literature or sail to the West Indies from Leith, Burns set off to visit those in Edinburgh who wanted to meet the poet who had been greeted by the country's leading literary figure, Henry MacKenzie, as the 'heaven-taught ploughman'.

In the event, he was hailed everywhere as a genius, and his reception in Edinburgh was to lead to what amounted to a national progress as

Burns travelled first through the Borders and the South of Scotland and then, in 1787, to the Highlands.

He could not, however, earn a living as a poet and could gain no effective patronage from his Edinburgh admirers, whose advice about which kind of writing he should be doing was as useless as it was contradictory.

He returned to farming, at Ellisland near Dumfries, having married Jean Armour, who had borne him another set of twins, in August, 1788. Jean would not only bear more of Burns' children, but would also take in more of Burns' 'love-begotten' offspring.

The marriage to Jean came, however, in flight to another romantic entanglement - that with Agnes McLehose, an educated woman with whom Burns maintained an intense but tormentingly spiritual relationship through letters in which he addressed her as 'Clarinda' and signed himself 'Sylvander'.

It was a relationship which continued while Burns sought a salaried position as an exciseman, but combining this new position with farming did not make the farm at Ellisland any more successful. Robert and Jean had to give it up and move into a house in Dumfries after which Burns' circumstances deteriorated steadily.

He focused his genius not on his own writing but in collecting and preparing for publication huge amounts of folk songs and ballads and, in the years after the French Revolution, swung between defiant gestures against, and fearful submission to, established authority.

By 1796, when his admirers had begun to scheme to assist the poverty-stricken poet, he was dead and their efforts could only be to secure support for Jean and his children. ●



# A burning passion for Scotland – and liberty





Everything said about the Bard is true. He was a poetic genius, an extrovert who loved the ladies as well as his dram. But not always appreciated is just how deep ran the feeling for his country - and its freedom



**N**o poet is more celebrated than Robert Burns. Within 20 years of his death, his birthday was being celebrated as that of the national bard and Burns, the poet of celebration, continues to be acknowledged, however anonymously, every time Auld Lang Syne is chanted as the international anthem of good fellowship and fond remembrance.

Part of the difficulty about Burns is that his story - from his birth in 1759 in a struggling farming family to his early death in 1796; from the first publication of his poems in Kilmarnock in 1786 to the adulation he received in the drawing rooms of Edinburgh; from his love of Highland Mary (dead with his child in 1787) to his love affair by letter with the polite 'Clarinda'; from his first rejection of Jean Armour as his wife when she bore him twins to his eventual marriage to her when she suckled his offspring by other women; from the possibility of emigration to Jamaica to the series of failed farms that led him to become an exciseman - has been celebrated so often that it has become simply a reflection of Burns' life, and Burns' life but an image of his nation's strengths and weaknesses.

Many critics have seen in the Burns' Clubs and the Burns' Nights not the poet's accolade, but his defamation by people who have no interest in Burns or in poetry.

As Hugh MacDiarmid asked: "What unco fate maks him the dumpin' grun for a' the sloppy rubbish they jaw oot?"

Burns' success in encouraging his celebration is seen by others as the fundamental weakness of a poet who appeals to a simple sentimentality that could never be truly great art, a poet whose weakness is precisely his appeal to a simple indulgence of fake emotions.

And then, of course, there is the issue of Burns the representative of a male culture which exploits and abuses the women whom it sentimentally celebrates. As Lockhart,



■ 'Ae spring brought off her master hale', but left behind poor Maggie's tail in the hands of Nannie, the witch, with a scared look from Tam o' Shanter.

Scott's son-in-law and biographer, wrote in 'Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk' about the Burns celebrations of 1819: "I think no man should be allowed to say anything about Burns, who has not joined in [a] chorus, although timber-tuned, and sat till daylight, although married."

Burns becomes the poetic mentor of those for whom poetry is an excuse for 'misty felicity', forgetfulness and neglect of duty.

That Burns became the 'national bard', however, was not the accident of native genius. Burns' youthful reading had included Macpherson's *Ossian*, published in 1760, which claimed to be the fragmentary remains of an ancient Gaelic bard.

The bardic spirit which Macpherson celebrated, Burns took upon himself. He was the voice, not of an individual poet, but of a people.

And he claimed, in the Dedication to the Edinburgh edition of his poetry, to have been chosen for his role: "A Scottish Bard, proud of the name, and whose highest ambition is to sing in his Country's service. The Poetic Genius of my Country found me as the prophetic bard Elijah did Elisha - at the 'plough', and through her inspiring 'mantle' over me."

Burns' lowly station in life becomes indicative of the high purposes to which he is called, a national 'Bard' dedicated to

celebrating the fact that 'the blood of her ancient heroes still runs uncontaminated'.

If love, for Burns, was the source of his earliest efforts in poetry - and was to go on being the source of his finest lyrical compositions - it was Scotland's story that was at the very root of his poetic inspiration.

Among Burns' earliest reading matter was William Hamilton of Gilbertfield's version of Blind Harry's 'The Wallace', written in the late 15th century. Burns declared it to have "poured a Scottish prejudice in my veins which will boil along there till the floodgates of life shut in eternal rest".

It was that commitment that drew him to develop and extend the use of Scots which he found in the work of Robert Fergusson, the poet to whom he had a stone erected in Greyfriars churchyard and whom he described as "my elder brother in Misfortune. By far my elder brother in the muse".

The very medium of his poetry was, therefore, for Burns a commitment to Scotland's history. 'Scottish prejudice' made him sympathetic to the Jacobite cause and the Jacobite songs that Burns wrote or reshaped were to contribute to maintaining Jacobitism, despite its religious implications, as a key element in ►





■ Highland Mary or Mary Campbell, as she was in life, with the Bard at Failford as painted by W H Midwood. Mary died in 1786, possibly in childbirth, and it was claimed Burns was the father.

► Scottish self-consciousness.

What links Burns' Jacobitism to his famous satires on Calvinism, such as 'Holy Willie's Prayer', is his commitment to liberty – a liberty he saw as embodied in the very nature of Scottish history, and its struggle for national independence.

Burns' dramatisation of Scottish history in 'Scots Wha Hae' (Robert Bruce's March to Bannockburn), has probably shaped later Scottish perceptions of the Wars of Independence more than any other single work, but its key achievement is to fuse the national stand against English oppression with a universal political claim:

*Lay the proud Usurpers low!  
Tyrants fall in every foe!  
LIBERTY'S in every blow!  
Let us DO – or DIE!*

The contemporary significance of

this, in the context of the American and French revolutions, was considerable.

Those revolutions were, for Burns, rooted in the 'independent mind' that stood firm against tyranny on the ground of its own local language:

*Ye see yon birkie co'd a lord,  
Wha struts, and stares, and a' that,  
Though hundreds worship at his word,  
He's but a coof [fool] for a' that.  
For a' that, and a' that,  
The man of independent mind,  
He looks and laughs at a that.*

Independence of mind and of language is, for Burns, the foundation of all other forms of independence.

Scotland's past, both in its history and its language, was reshaped by Burns' poetry to be an image of the politics of freedom and democracy

which was the clarion cry of the new age.

His 'Ode for General Washington's Birthday' celebrates the American revolutionaries as those who "dare maintain, The Royalty of Man" and compares them with a Scotland whose own heroic past is despoiled by its participation in the tyranny of the modern British government:

*Thee, Caledonia, thy wild heaths  
among,  
Famed for the martial deed, the  
heaven-taught song,  
To thee, I turn with swimming eyes.  
Where is that soul of freedom fled?  
Immingled with the mighty Dead!  
Beneath that hallowed turf where  
WALLACE lies!*

Scotland is not simply a geographical region or a political history – it is the soul of freedom, a soul which is resurrected in the

bardic voice of the poet in defiance of the political actualities of the hour.

At the very moment when Scottish culture might have disappeared into the culture of 'North Britain' and into an undifferentiated English, Burns revitalised Scots and gave it great poems in many genres, from the narrative drive of 'Tam o' Shanter' to the biting satire 'Address to the Unco Guid' or the human sympathy of 'To A Mouse'.

In such poetry, Burns' use of English has sometimes been seen as a symptom of the weakness of the Scots language, or of his flawed ambition to emulate English poetry.

It is neither. It is the recognition that Burns lived in a bilingual culture and, as bardic poet, he is the



## Burns' link with the Jacobite cause reflects his commitment to liberty as embodied in the very nature of Scottish history

inheritor of the whole of that culture, English as well as Scots – and even, through the English of Macpherson's translations, of Gaelic.

Thus 'A Cotter's Saturday Night', Burns' most popular poem for 19th-century readers, is now deprecated because of its literary English.

It concludes, however, by addressing itself to a God whose language, in Scotland, may be English but whose sentiments are entirely Scottish:

*O THOU! Who pour'd the patriotic tide,  
Thou stream'd thro' great, unhappy  
Wallace's heart;  
Who dar'd to, nobly, stem tyrannic  
pride,  
Or nobly die, the second glorious part;  
(The PATRIOT'S GOD, peculiarly thou  
art,  
His friend, inspirer, guardian and  
reward!)*  
*O never, never SCOTIA's realm desert,  
But still the Patriot, and the Patriot-  
bard,  
In bright succession raise, her  
Ornament and Guard!*

The 'patriotic tide' that unites the national hero and the national poet in the maintenance of the nation stems directly from 'the PATRIOT'S GOD'.

It is this that makes the Word of the Lord directly translatable into the language of the local culture, as 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' demonstrates in its depiction of the working family at prayer:

*The Sire turns o'er, with patriarchal  
grace,  
The big ha' Bible, aince his Father's  
pride;  
His bonnet rev'rently is laid aside,  
His lyart haffets wearing thin and  
bare;*

'Lyart haffets' are revealed by the act of reverently taking off his bonnet just as the Scots words are reverently uncovered by the poetic English of the verse.

Those Scots words perform the same role in Burns' poetry as the



■ 'Getting fou and unco happy' – Tam o' Shanter prepares himself for the road on such a night of storm and thunder it was obvious the Diel himself was abroad. The figures are from a TV cartoon version of the poem.

Scots tunes to which the family sings its psalms:

*Compar'd with these, Italian trills are  
tame...  
The tickl'd ears no heart-felt raptures  
raise;  
Noe unison has they, wizh our  
Creator's praise.*

The language which merely 'tickles' the ear is to be contrasted with the language of 'heart-felt raptures' – it is the language of the folk rather than the language of high art which is truly in 'unison' with the language of their Creator, both divine and poetic.

Far from being the 'heaven-inspired ploughman' of his literary persona, Burns was, for his time and station, exceptionally well-read and, after the success of the Kilmarnock edition, set out to make himself more so by a course of wide and organised reading.

He could see in public image of the 'ploughman poet' a perversion of the theories of the French philosopher Rousseau, and wrote a poem about himself as Robin Ruisseaux, a punning translation of 'Burns' into the French for 'rivers' and an ironic commentary on Rousseau's theories of the noble savage.

In engaging with the traditions of high art, however, what Burns discovered was the real strength of

folk culture: the combination of the two he celebrated in Love and Liberty (sometimes known as The Jolly Beggars), which presents as though it was an opera the self-dramatising songs of a group of social outcasts who celebrate their freedom from the constraints of polite society.

*A fig for those by law protected!  
LIBERTY's a glorious feast!  
Courts for Cowards were erected,  
Churches built to please the PRIEST.*

In it Burns drew a self-portrait of himself as "the Bard of no regard/Wi' gentle folks" whose inspiration comes from the folk.

It is a role he was to adopt increasingly as polite society failed to support him and as he descended from the aspiring farmer of Ellisland in 1788 – where he had a comfortable room to write in – to the broken exciseman of 1796, writing letters in the midst of family clutter.

In that period, however, he became the truly bardic poet who gathered and improved or recreated the mass of folk songs that were to be published, by and large anonymously, in Johnson's 'The Scots Musical Museum' and in Thomson's 'Select Scottish Airs', the latter of which did not appear till after Burns' death.

Burns had become the bard

through whom the people's poetry flowed from past to future, and his greatest love lyrics are made precisely by the impersonality of the voice which speaks them.

Not for Burns the dramatisation of his own life in his poems, whatever biographers may try to make of his love poetry – the poems speak out of the anonymous depths of a communal experience where all historical particularity has disappeared:

*O my Love's like a red, red rose,  
That's newly sprung in June;  
O my Love's like the melody  
That's sweetly play'd in tune*

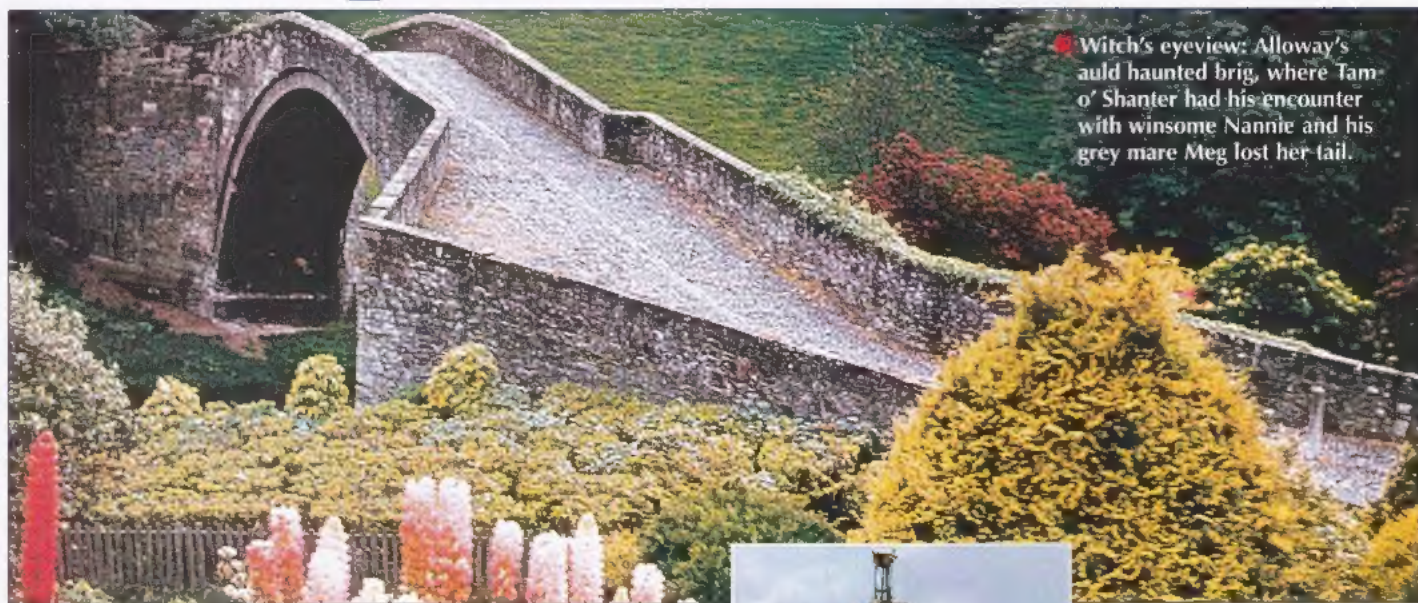
*As fair art thou, my bonie lass,  
So deep in love am I;  
And I will love thee still, my Dear,  
Till a' the seas gang dry. –*

In that union of local speech and common emotion, Burns became the model for all the poets – from Wordsworth to Tony Harrison, from William Carlos Williams to Sylvia Plath, from Yeats to Seamus Heaney – who have taken the international language of English and rooted it back in a local voice, a local muse:

*Haud tae the Muse, my dainty Davie:  
The warl may play you monie a shavie;  
But for the Muse, she'll never leave ye,  
Tho' e'er sae puir,  
Na, even tho' limpan wi' the spavie,  
Frae door tae door. ●*



# Burns experience is trip of a lifetime



Witch's eyevew: Alloway's auld haunted brig, where Tam o' Shanter had his encounter with winsome Nannie and his grey mare Meg lost her tail.

## They come from around the world to visit the birthplace of the Bard

It was around the year 1750 that William Burnes, the man who would father Scotland's greatest ever poet, literally made his home on a seven-and-a-half acre plot in Alloway, a small wayside village in rural Ayrshire.

In the cottage William built by his own hand, his wife Agnes gave birth to their son Robert, in 1759.

Today, Burns Cottage is one of several unique attractions celebrating the life and works of Robert Burns in the Burns National Heritage Park.

Established in 1995, the Burns National Heritage Park has had great success in recreating the ambience of Burns' life and times, attracting 345,000 visitors to Alloway last year.

Burns Cottage itself has benefited tremendously from restoration work and the introduction of a short audio-visual presentation.

These combine to heighten the senses, giving a representation of what the cottage would have been like in the time of Burns. The Burns



Cottage Museum within has a treasure of manuscripts, books, paintings and artefacts.

One of the Heritage Park's achievements has been to capture the same feel for the poet's native village as Burns himself does in his epic poem 'Tam o' Shanter'. The poet's vivid

appreciation of his surroundings is never better expressed than in this supernatural masterpiece.

The Tam o' Shanter Experience was created in 1995 and incorporates a visitor centre with a selection of interpretative panels portraying some of Robert Burns' most famous works, two audio visual presentations, a gift shop and a 'Taste of Burns Country' Restaurant.

The 'Tam o' Shanter' connection is further advanced by two sites of central importance to the poem, Kirk Alloway and the Brig o' Doon.

It is by the Kirk Alloway that the hero, Tam, witnesses witches and warlocks dancing to jigs and hornpipes piped by the Devil himself.

It takes little imagination to



■ The Grecian-styled Burns Monument opened in 1823.

picture the fiendish and winsome wench, Nannie, whose antics and dancing cause Tam and his mare Meg such misfortune.

The Kirk yard also contains the grave of William Burnes.

The Brig o' Doon was made famous as the setting for Tam's mare Meg losing her tail to the witch Nannie in the frightful but funny poem which describes the fate of those who have had a 'wee dram too many'.

The Brig straddles the River Doon, a strangely beautiful setting for such a tale of darkness. An ideal

vantage point from which to view the Brig o' Doon is the Burns Monument. Opened in 1823, this Grecian-style landmark houses interpretative panels and the Statue House contains figures of well known characters from Burns' works.

The Heritage Park provides a range of entertainment during the summer including a children's entertainer, which gives parents the freedom to soak up the atmosphere in the Park's beautiful surroundings.

A popular local ceilidh band is meanwhile on hand to entertain with Scottish tunes.

During August, the Park holds a traditional Burns Supper 'with a difference'.

The address to the haggis is accompanied by a light-hearted insight into the life of the Bard.

To close the proceedings, a lone piper leads those who are brave enough out to Alloway Kirkyard, for an eerie rendition of a certain poem about a fellow named Tam! ●

The Burns National Heritage Park is open every day between Easter and the end of September from 9am to 6pm.

From October to March, the opening hours are: T o' S Exhibition - Mon-Sun 9am-5pm. Burns Cottage: Mon-Sat 10am-4pm, Sun 12-4pm

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Murdoch's Lane, Alloway,  
Ayr, KA7 4PQ

Telephone: 01292 443700

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# It's all change down on the 'ferm touns'



■ Farm under pressure: High Cross in the Lowlands, home of the Bairds of Gartsherrie, was typical of those farms affected by the changes.

**Homes improved, the rigs were flattened, diet altered, there were more single tenancies, workers became landless, a new hierarchy developed - the face of the land changed forever**

Edmund Ferguson had a problem. It was November, 1773, and he was due to pay back the one hundred pounds sterling he had borrowed from his boss, John Mackenzie, nine months previously.

Mackenzie was laird of Delvine, a medium-sized estate of around 2,000 acres set on the banks of the Tay in Perthshire, although he spent most of his time in the law courts of Edinburgh in his capacity as legal agent to an impressive proportion of the great and the good of Scotland.

Edmund couldn't pay his debt. He had needed the money to carry out improvements to his own family seat, a smaller estate set in the hills above the River Tummel some miles to the north. But the changes were slow to bear fruit and the expected

increase in rental returns was not yet adequate to pay all his on-going debts. In the event, Mackenzie was sympathetic and gave him more time.

Edmund Ferguson was a good factor and estate manager and his boss was only too aware of the problems involved in implementing improvements. Mackenzie was himself in the middle of an ambitious project to completely modernise Delvine in a way that would change the daily lives of all those who lived on his lands. Edmund Ferguson was very good at getting the tenants and cottars to co-operate in the new system.

He was also rather good at evicting those who fell behind with their rent. Seemingly oblivious to his own hypocrisy, he could not be

doing with debtors as he was pursuing a policy of financial discipline.

By the end of the 18th century and all at part of a much bigger change which was taking place in the walks of life within Scotland during the 18th century. These were by no means confined to the world of high level political manoeuvring which went on well above the heads of the ordinary folk. For the changes were of the kind which went straight to the heart of community life.

By the end of the century, the daily, weekly and seasonal routines of a large proportion of lowland Scotland's rural population had changed substantially and much of the Highlands were about to follow ►





The laird's table may have groaned with plenty but meat was a stranger in the homes of his workers. They largely lived on here – a form of barley, oats and dairy produce and even the taste of potatoes, turnips and carrots would be largely unknown to them.

► suit. People's homes, the food they ate, their relations with their landlords and neighbours – even the very colour of the landscape – were re-shaped to an extent that few could have believed possible at the outset of the century.

This was the age of 'Improvement'. But what actually 'improved' for those at the sharp end of country living? Exactly how did life change for those who lived day-in and day-out under the watchful gaze of the likes of Edmund Ferguson?

At Delvine, as in most places, one of the first and most significant changes was in the way the land was parcelled out. In the 1750s, there were nearly 30 'farms' on the estate, worked according to a system which had been there for centuries.

These were not neatly set out, enclosed units occupied by a single tenant in the form we're familiar

with today, but rather were farm towns – small communities of several families who jointly tenanted the land, although they were each responsible for their own share of the rent.

In 1759 eight of the towns were tenanted by two named people, one had four tenants, four had five, one had six and one had 10. Nine of the better off farmers could afford individual tenancies of their own.

These farms were run following the principles of run rig, a system of land use and organisation which had served the nation well for countless generations but which was now beginning to creak and groan under the weight of a rapidly rising population.

The cultivated land was in the form of unenclosed rigs or ridges – long, sweeping raised beds of soil up to 36ft in width and separated by

ditches. Most rigs were slightly curved or serpentine in shape, a feature which was probably designed to ease the turning of the unwieldy 12-ox plough teams which proliferated in many parts of Scotland.

These rigs and ditches were often formed on gentle slopes as opposed to flat plains in order to facilitate basic drainage, and each tenant's rigs were dotted around the farm town in order to fairly divide the good and bad land.

This system of tenure encouraged a communal approach to the daily work routines of the farm.

It was common practice for each tenant to contribute an ox or two to a communal plough team, and for this team to work the rigs of each tenant in turn. While such cooperation may well have served to foster a certain sense of community and good neighbourhood, this was

not some kind of rural utopia in which every individual acted for the overall good of the settlement.

Disagreements must have been common, and agricultural experts were unanimous in their condemnation of this system which they considered to be the major obstacle standing in the way of agricultural advancement.

Writing in 1783, the Earl of Breadalbane's chamberlain saw little of value in the continued use of a communal approach to production:

*"If men's dispositions and tempers in the same situation of life were nearly equal and if they considered their neighbours' good at all times as necessarily connected with their own, such a method of carrying on the works of a farm might do very well but the contrary is the fatal truth and verified in a strong degree amongst these people."*

The story of agricultural





■ New look: a Kincardine farm around 1813 with many of the agricultural changes in place, but now embracing a focus on profit.

was the emergence of a new professional and social hierarchy amongst the farming fraternity which was particularly marked in the Lowland areas, for the creation of single tenancies left a deep residue of landless labourers within the countryside

Many former tenants found themselves working for farmers who had once been their peers but who were now their bosses. The social gulf between employer and employee increased as a consequence of this individualisation of land holding and was overtly marked in a number of ways.

It became a rare occurrence for master and servant to eat together in the farmhouse kitchen, for instance, as the latter were herded together into self-catering bothies next to the stables and byres.

Improvements in housing standards must have been one of the most tangible changes to take place in country living during the second half of the 18th century. Delvine was typical in this respect, for in the 1760s most of the dwellings on the estate were of a single room with walls little more than 5ft in height built of stone and mud, and with a central hearth.

There were no chimneys, the smoke being left to meander its own way up into the thatch of the roof which was regularly pulled down and ploughed back into the land as fertiliser. Mackenzie was determined to sweep away all of these sod or 'feal' huts, which he considered to be unwelcome symbols of all that was wrong with the old system, and set about forcing his tenants to build themselves stone houses.

By making this a condition of their tenancy agreements he was able to apply pressure to those who were slow to implement the necessary improvements. The estate records show that the threat of eviction was frequently used in this respect.

In 1782 one tenant, Andrew

Bisset, was being reprimanded by Ferguson for allowing his workers to continue to live in sod hovels.

He was forcefully reminded in writing that the conditions of his lease had stipulated that "all the feal houses in the town of Easter Caputh were to be demolished and pulled down and the rubbish disposed of" and that he was to "build stone and mortar houses for them thatched with straw at his own expense".

Through stick rather than carrot, Ferguson was able to bring about his master's desire to completely rebuild the housing stock on the entire estate.

The diet of those who lived within such houses also changed substantially during the second half of the 18th century. Even by 1760, very few of the Delvine population knew the taste of potatoes, turnips or carrots, living mainly on bere, (a form of barley), oats and dairy produce.

The widespread adoption of these new vegetables on the local farms began around 1770, transforming both meal times and the very appearance of the land – the 'greening' of the Scottish countryside was now well underway.

Meat, however, remained a luxury few could afford and continued to be viewed very much as a rare treat to celebrate occasions such as weddings or a successful harvest.

Change, therefore, was a very much a feature of life in the Scottish countryside during the 18th century. For some, these changes were for the better, while for others, especially those who had their feet firmly fixed in the old ways, they were a source of great concern.

What is clear is that the aspirations of these landowners like Mackenzie, the ambition of their lieutenants like Ferguson, and the hard labour of those who worked the soil the seasons round changed the face of Scottish country living forever. ●

## TIMELINE

**1759**

Robert Burns is born in a clay cottage in Alloway, Ayrshire.

**1763**

James Boswell presents himself to Samuel Johnson, beginning one of history's most famous partnerships.

**1766**

Anglophile Tobias Smollet re-visits Scotland and makes notes for his forthcoming novel.

**1767**

James Steuart's 'Principles of Political Economy' – more highly regarded than Adam Smith in the late 18th century.

**1770**

Commercial transformation of Lowland rural life begins to take place.

**1771**

Tobias Smollet's greatest novel 'Humphry Clinker' is published.

**1773**

Johnson and Boswell's famous itinerary through Scotland to the Hebridean isles.

**1776**

The Scottish Enlightenment influences the American Declaration of Independence.

**1786**

Burns' first collection of poems is published in Kilmarnock.

**1787**

Burns' lover Mary Campbell, 'Highland Mary' dies with the poet's child.

**1791**

Boswell's 'The Life of Samuel Johnson' – regarded as a biographical masterpiece.

**1796**

Robert Burns dies in fevered agony at home in Dumfries, aged 37.

improvement in Scotland is essentially the story of the breaking up and dissolving of this run rig system and its replacement by the patterns of agriculture we see all around us today.

It is the story of the individualisation of holdings by phasing out joint-tenancies; of the flattening of rigs and the creation and enclosing of rectangular fields; of the introduction of new crops and more advanced implementation, and of the improvement of the soil through drainage, liming, fallowing and crop rotation.

By extension, it is also the story of regional specialisation of agricultural production as more scientific knowledge led to a heightened realisation that certain terrains were more suited to certain modes of production and less so to others.

A further consequence of change



# Odd couple who were literary lions



Eighteenth-century London society life, as depicted in Hogarth's scene from *A Rake's Progress*, was like a magnet to Boswell.

James Boswell always played second fiddle to the celebrated Dr Johnson, but all the time he took notes for his own masterpiece

On May 16, 1763, the brash young James Boswell managed to thrust his company on Samuel Johnson, and at the same time provided a classical example of the post union Scottish cringe.

He begged Tom Davies, in whose bookshop the encounter took place, not to tell the great man whence he came. "From Scotland," cried Davies roughly.

"Mr Johnson (said I), I do indeed come from Scotland, but I cannot help it."

Retorted the great wit: "That, sir,

I find is what a very great many of your countrymen cannot help."

Thus inauspiciously began what was to become one of the great friendships in literature, which in the end was to produce the finest biography in the English language, Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

James Boswell (1740-95) was the eldest son of Alexander Boswell, laird of Auchinleck and later a judge of the Court of Session as Lord Auchinleck.

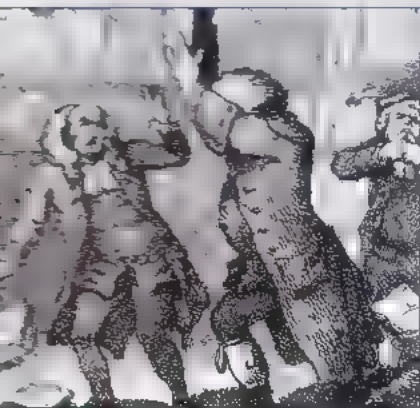
James, a bit of a scapegrace, much vexed his Calvinistic father. Destined

for the law, the erring son had his heart set on literary fame, and hence arose his eagerness to gain the acquaintance of Johnson, the literary lion of the day.

Johnson took to him, and in 1773 insisted that he should become a member of the Literary Club which included Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Edmund Burke, David Garrick and Edward Gibbon, most of whom Boswell managed to annoy with his brash egotism.

Little did his irritated deriders guess that the writings of this





■ When Boswell's father showed Johnson his collection of medals, a violent row broke out. James Boswell became very upset 'at such an altercation between two men both of whom I revered.'

'Scotch cur' (or burr as Goldsmith put it) were to immortalise them.

Boswell had already shown talent as a writer with his 'An Account of Corsica', published in 1768 to considerable acclaim. In General Pasquale Paoli, who headed the Corsicans in their bid for independence, Boswell had found another 'lion'.

The vain Boswell played the fool, prancing about in Corsican costume, but his hook proved that he could write well. All the while he wrote papers and kept journals full of keen observation. His journals and papers, long lost and fairly recently rediscovered and published, are chockfull of interesting and amusingly narcissistic observations.

A bumptious busybody, a drunkard and a compulsive lecher, Boswell was still good hearted and cared for his wife and children, much though he tried them.

In 1773 Johnson and Boswell made their famous itinerary through Scotland to the Hebrides. Johnson had long admired Martin Martin's account of the Western Isles and was keen to encounter the patriarchal social system of the Highlands.

He was disappointed to find it in decline, and in his 'A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland' (1775) he gave a gloomy account of Highland society. He also denied the authenticity of James Macpherson's 'Poems of Ossian' and held that Gaelic had no literature.

His account was assailed by the Reverend Donald MacNicol of Lismore, who was able to correct many of Johnson's errors about Gaelic literature. But MacNicol was dismissed as a low fellow in an obscure corner of Scotland, and

Johnson's views became the verdict of English Literature.

Indeed, they are still given a currency that they do not deserve, and MacNicol's valuable 'Remarks on Johnson's Journey' is unjustly neglected. Boswell's account of the famous journey, his 'Journal of a Tour of the Hebrides' (1785) is fuller than Johnson's 'Journey' and has some lively descriptions of Johnson's zest for adventure and his contentious, argumentative ways.

Meanwhile, Boswell was drawing out Johnson, recording his brilliant talk, and gathering and assessing all the information about him: his lawyer's training enabling him to authenticate much of the material he so laboriously assembled.

In spite of deteriorating health exacerbated by drinking, Boswell persevered with his task and, in 1791, seven years after the death of

its subject, he published 'The Life of Samuel Johnson'.

It was at once recognised as a masterpiece. Following the example set in 1774 by William Mason in his 'Life and Letters of Thomas Gray', of Elegy fame, Boswell weaved Johnson's works, conversations and anecdotes into a brilliant portrait.

Written in unpretentious, quite different from the ponderous style of the 18th century, it was a masterpiece in its own right. It was a work of art, a work of art, a work of art.

It was a work of art, a work of art, a work of art. It was a work of art, a work of art, a work of art. It was a work of art, a work of art, a work of art.

But Macaulay was puzzled how a fool like Boswell could produce such

■ Boswell the journalist: He had his portrait painted in Rome by Scots artist George Willison.



of plain, simple, direct, and unadorned language. It was a work of art, a work of art, a work of art. It was a work of art, a work of art, a work of art. It was a work of art, a work of art, a work of art.

Boswell, it can be argued, was a star in his own right, his journals revealing him as the supreme diarist.



ADVANCING MEDICINE

# A STEP OUT OF THE





# BUTCHER'S SHOP

**Suddenly in Edinburgh men of status were making strides in medicine, bringing world fame to the Capital. But the benefits did not arrive overnight**

**T**he 18th century was a crucial time for Scottish and Edinburgh medicine. By 1800 the Edinburgh Medical School was a world leader, attracting medical students from all corners of the globe; Scottish-trained physicians and surgeons were appointed to important posts in England and abroad; and Scottish medical men were at the forefront of medical research.

This all took place against the background of post-Union Scotland and, later, the intellectually-stimulating milieu of the Enlightenment.

Scotland was a small, relatively poor nation. Why, then, did Scottish physicians, surgeons and intellectuals come to such prominence in a period which produced the likes of David Hume and Adam Smith?

A major development in medical education was the foundation of the Edinburgh Medical School in 1727.

Before then, Scots who wanted to study medicine were forced to go to Europe, increasingly to Leiden, in order to qualify as physicians (surgeons continued to be trained by apprenticeship to a master surgeon, under the control of the Incorporation of Surgeons of Edinburgh, founded in 1505, or the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, dating from 1599). This Leiden connection was important.

Some historians take the view that medical development was encouraged because of the after-effects of the Union of 1707, when a void was left in Scottish society.

Parliament as well as crown had migrated south of the Border, leaving Scotland under-represented politically and without a leading royal role.

The leaders of Edinburgh began to look for something to fill the gap. The individual with the grandest vision was George Drummond, many-times provost of Edinburgh, who had a dream of making Edinburgh into an important, cosmopolitan city, both physically and intellectually. A medical school

was a central part of Drummond's master plan.

Edinburgh University, founded in 1583, was controlled by the Town Council, which had already (in 1685) appointed three physicians to teach medicine in Edinburgh (though they received no salary and there is very little evidence that they did any teaching).

In 1706, the Town Council appointed Robert Eliot to teach anatomy (he was, in effect, the first Professor of Anatomy in Britain). By 1720, following some political manoeuvrings, Alexander Monro primus, the first of the famous triumvirate of anatomical Monros, had succeeded to this appointment.

Thus in many respects a medical school was in existence before it was established formally. The final stimulus came in 1725 when, many decades before the famous Burke and Hare scandals, rumours of grave-robbing rocked Edinburgh.

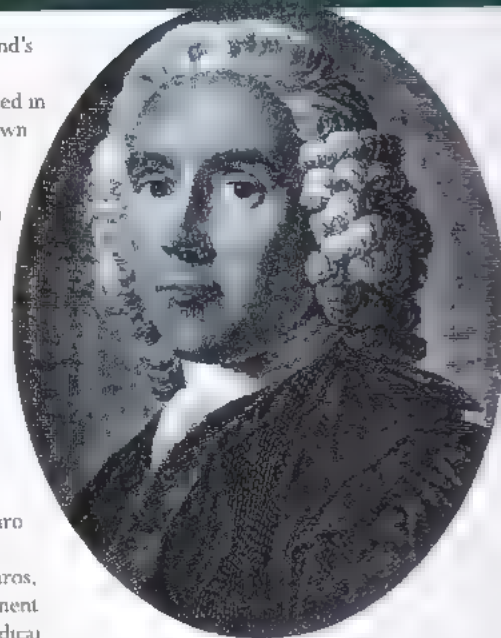
These events prompted the Incorporation of Surgeons to offer a reward for the arrest of those 'raising the dead furth of their graves'. Monro, the target of suspicion as the likely recipient of such bodies, offered a further reward himself, and petitioned the Town Council to move his teaching within the walls of the university.

It was also of considerable help that Alexander's father, George Monro, was on extremely good terms with George Drummond, sharing his ambitions for Edinburgh as well as the name of the anatomical family.

So the Medical School was set up with four professors to teach medical subjects alongside Monro.

But how did all this help physicians and surgeons to know more about body structure and function, and did their patients experience different, or better treatment?

Edinburgh was the centre of the Enlightenment in Scotland. As we



**John Monro's dream was realised with the opening of Edinburgh's Medical School in 1726.**

have seen, it was a time when towering intellectual achievement and their practical application in medical education were significant. Doctors began to publish their work, and the results of research were published in academic journals. At the same time, many significant advances were made.

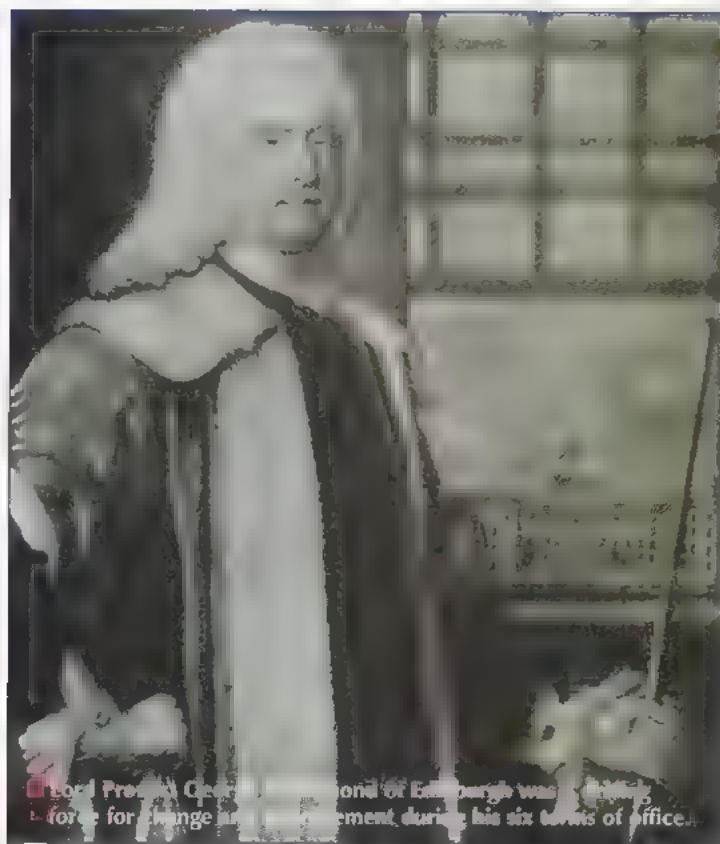
William Cullen, who defected to Edinburgh from Glasgow in 1755, published a new classification of diseases and conditions based on botanical lines. This was soon found to be erroneous, but at least the attempt was there.

Cullen was also highly influential in the development of chemistry as a distinct scientific subject. Alexander Monro secundus, famous son of a famous father, described the lymphatic system and elucidated much of the nervous system, not to





Alexander Monroe, (secundus) famous son of a famous father and a famous brother, carried out important studies on the brain.



Lord Provost George Gordon of Edinburgh was famous for his efforts for change in the government during his six terms of office.

► mention giving his name to the hole connecting ventricles of the brain.

In a fraternity which included Joseph Black, the anatomist William Hunter and the obstetrician William Smellie, Monroe was surrounded by medical and scientific enquiry. Time would pass, though, before the effects of all this could be seen and felt by patients.

As an essential part of the medical school, and in accordance with the 'view from Holland' that bedsides teaching must be an essential part of medical training, the first small steps were taken with the foundation of the first Infirmary in Robertson's Close in Edinburgh (near what is now Thun's bookshop) in 1729, after the necessary £2,000 capital had been raised with difficulty.

The Infirmary contained the grand total of six beds, and the first patient did not even come from Edinburgh; Elizabeth Sinclair from Caithness was admitted suffering from anaemia. During its first year in operation, of the 35 patients treated 19 were dismissed as cured, five as incurable and there was one death (the remainder still being in-patients at the end of the year).

Conditions treated included consumption, scurvy, cancer and paralysis, and the cost was £97 19s 7d and 'two third parts of a penny sterling'.

Treatments were still mainly dependent on Galenic, herbal and chemical remedies given to restore

the balance of the bodily humours. New science did not bring about new treatments quickly.

This was a start, though, and it soon became clear that a larger building would be needed. A royal charter was obtained 1736, and the new Royal Infirmary, designed to hold 228 patients, opened its doors in 1741.

This much grander building provided opportunities for improved patient care and treatment and, importantly, the beginnings of clinical teaching – apart from interruptions such as in 1745 when the Infirmary served as a military

crucial for medicine at this time. Many patients were not cured, but lengthy periods of in-patient treatment allowed physicians to observe and record signs and symptoms regularly. Hospital provision in Edinburgh was eventually mirrored elsewhere in Scotland, with the Infirmary in Glasgow dating from 1794.

Surgery was little changed from what it had been in the 16th or 17th centuries. Scottish surgeons were well trained and highly regarded, serving successive monarchs and armies.

There was often little they could

amputation could be performed in less than a minute, though the shock and infection killed many patients.

The surgeon appointed by Edinburgh Town Council to treat the poor in 1710 treated Jean Beaton, whose leg was amputated after unsuccessful treatment with various applications including mercury.

Six months after surgery the Town Council paid out £3 Scots for 'a timber leg', confirming that it was possible to survive.

The next century saw the parallel development of the Edinburgh Medical School, the consolidation of all the Scottish medical colleges; the

unification of hospitals and medical teaching, and significant advances in knowledge of the body, its structures and systems.

On the other hand, though, what the physicians and surgeons could do was still very limited. What is not in doubt, though, is that medical practitioners did their best to relieve distress and discomfort.

What is also beyond question is that Edinburgh medicine had international influence. The Pennsylvania Hospital founded in 1751 was even modelled on the Edinburgh infirmary.

Students were drawn to Edinburgh from all over the world and and at least for a time in the 18th century Edinburgh and Scottish medicine led the world. ●

## Surgeons were fast workers. Give them two minutes and a leg was off

hospital during the Jacobite uprising.

The first clinical sessions were established in 1748 by John Rutherford, one of the most prominent Edinburgh physicians and the grandfather of Sir Walter Scott.

An American medical student wrote home: "We have a new class set on footing here this winter by our Professor of the practice of Physic, which is to lecture on the Cases of the Patients in the Infirmary, in which he gives the Diagnosis, Prognosis and Method of Cure, which Lectures are reckon'd very valuable and serviceable."

The larger hospital and close connections with the university were

do, though, because of lack of anaesthetics or the means to prevent infections. But attempts were made to train and examine surgeons properly. The Edinburgh Incorporation of Surgeons had successfully

granted a charter in 1708. The Anatomical Society, advancing the practice of surgery, could not be founded until 1784. The first lectures on the treatment of fractures were given in 1784.

Anaesthesia was the most frequent cause of failure, because of the high cost of the drug in society, and also because there was no time to perform complex surgery. An



# Scotland's role in the American Revolution

Thomas Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence is read to the Second Continental Congress on July 4, 1776. The Declaration was strongly influenced by Scottish Enlightenment thinking



**It was a two-way influence: Scottish thought and experience was at the heart of the American move to independence, but the republic's radicalism began to impinge on political change in Scotland**

**I**f the role of Scots in the making of the American Revolution has often been underestimated, so has the impact of the American Revolution on Scotland. The great ideas of social progress and public improvement of the Scottish Enlightenment undoubtedly had much more of an influence on founding fathers of the American Republic, such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, than is often recognised.

Yet it is also clear that the ships of the Glasgow tobacco trade brought back more than just a commodity to Scotland from America. Ideas of no taxation without representation, of public accountability and of freedom of speech all gained greater circulation in Scotland as the conflict

in America escalated. It had an effect on Scotland which helped to prepare the way for more dramatic confrontation, between those who dominated politics and the law in Scotland, and those excluded from them at the time of the French Revolution.

In recent years, Scottish influence on America has attracted more attention from scholars and writers in America, particularly the idea that in writing the American Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson may have drawn upon the emphasis on social cohesion and communal responsibility that characterised much of the thinking of the Scottish Enlightenment, more than the writings of the Englishman John Locke on individual liberty. Some

have even suggested Jefferson might have had the Scottish 1320

Declaration of Arbroath in mind when he composed his famous American Declaration in 1776.

Less well known in America is the close connection the American statesman Benjamin Franklin built up with Scotland over many years.

He twice visited the country during his long periods of residence in London, in 1759 and 1774, making lifelong friendships with leading members of the Scottish Enlightenment, and drawing on Scottish experience in developing his own ideas about America and what it could become.

Whereas Thomas Jefferson had been taught by a Scottish professor from Aberdeen, named William ▶



## News of America via the Scottish tobacco fleet reached Scotland long before it came to London

► Small (and acknowledged his influence in his autobiography) Franklin lived in London for many years and observed the Scots in London as a fellow group of British 'provincials' who would never be accepted by metropolitan England

The urban centres of Edinburgh and Glasgow, Boston and Philadelphia, all developed with the model of English culture centred in London before them. Sometimes Scots and Americans seemed the same to Londoners, particularly if the Scots had made attempts to anglicise their accent.

James Boswell recorded that the Earl of Marchmont was asked if he was an American in a London shop, "because, sir, you speak neither English nor Scotch, but something different from both, which I conclude is the language of America."

If James Boswell also recorded that David Hume died in 1776 confessing not his sins but his Scotticisms, John Witherspoon by 1781 invented the word 'Americanism' in an essay in the *Pennsylvania Journal* on the use of language. Witherspoon was a Scottish minister who became president of Princeton College, New Jersey, in 1768. He helped frame the American Declaration of Independence – the only churchman to sign the document.

Out of Witherspoon's work came an emphasis on public rhetoric which drew on the traditions of the Scottish Enlightenment and its concern with the use of English as a medium of international communication.

The Edinburgh professor and cleric Hugh Blair's 'Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres' was first published in America in 1784. But it has been found that a further 56 editions of this work were published in America between 1805 and 1823 alone, during which time it served as a key text for Americans seeking to educate themselves in public speaking as a necessary requirement for participating in the politics and law of the new republic.

From the middle of the 18th century, some Americans were looking to Scotland for precedents on union.

Benjamin Franklin was behind an 'Albany plan' of 1754 for American union as a means of ensuring defence against French and Indian attack, with

■ George Washington's 1776 Christmas crossing of the icy Delaware river brought victory at Trenton and turned the tide for American independence. Along with others of the American elite who were architects of the Declaration, Washington's thinking was also influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment.



support from Scottish Americans such as Archibald Kennedy, William Livingston, James Alexander and Cadwallader Colden.

Livingston and another Scottish American named John Mitchell published pamphlets in 1757 urging the British government to annex Quebec to ensure expansion of the American frontier rather than continue to be preoccupied with the sugar islands of the West Indies with their slave economies.

Franklin's first visit to Scotland in 1759 was carried out partly to learn more about the country for comparisons that could be made with America at a time when full incorporation of the American colonies in a British union was seen as a real possibility.

In 1767, Franklin wrote to his friend Henry Home, better known

by his judicial title of Lord Kames on the idea of union between Britain and America, concluding that "Scotland and Ireland are peculiarly circumstanced Countries, as they can scarcely be made members, wealth and strength will be overbalance England and America, an immense territory assured by Nature with all the advantages of climate must be the great country, populous and mighty, and will, in a less time than is generally conceived, be able to shake off any shackles that may be imposed on her, and perhaps place them on the imposers."

This was part of the vision of political union Franklin took back to America and which Jefferson drew on equally with the teachings of his Scottish professor William Small.

When it came time to frame the American constitution, Franklin,

Witherspoon and others still put forward the relevance of the Scottish experience for America.

Like the Scots in 1707, Americans of the 13 colonies advocated an enlargement of the framework of politics through a congressional union in 1776 and a more federal constitution in 1789.

They also sought to further the creation of wealth through expanded markets although they did not seek to further an equal distribution of wealth, and in many ways the American leaders of the early republic could see their western frontier as similar to the frontier of the Scottish Highlands, which Scots had hoped to develop with wealth generated through British Union.

Like Scottish unionists, American federalists were urban professionals or landed gentry rather than





representative of the population as a whole, and the political system they created was not necessarily as popular with a contemporary public as it was enduring in practice.

If the conservative values of the Scottish Enlightenment might have influenced the political elite who created the American republic, equally the radicalism of the American Revolution influenced political changes beginning to take root in Scotland.

News from America via the Scottish tobacco fleet reached Scotland before it reached London, and the years of the revolution saw a substantial increase in the number of newspapers published in Scotland.

It is no coincidence that the first strong campaigns to broaden the representation of Scottish burgh councils and to reform the means by which voters qualified for

parliamentary elections emerged during the American war.

In Edinburgh, early in 1776, tradesmen from the masons, tailors, joiners and other trades met in a 'Congress' to demand an increased role in burgh elections. They took the names of American patriots such as John Hancock and Samuel Adams to draw attention to their dissatisfaction with Scottish government.

In 1778 there were riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow protesting against proposals to permit greater toleration for Roman Catholics, in which participants openly declared their sympathy for American rebels and their deep suspicion that an arbitrary government intended to arm Catholic troops (including Highlanders) to subvert the political rights of lowland Presbyterians.

One of the leading Scottish

ministers who supported the rioters, John Erskine, had earlier published a best-selling pamphlet in Scotland under the title 'Shall I go to War with my American Brethren?' which presented the cause of political opposition to the executive power of the British monarchy in America and Britain as one and the same.

Although we might be appalled by the Presbyterian intolerance that saw Catholicism as associated with arbitrary government, the riots also demonstrated popular determination in Scotland to defend traditional rights associated with opposition to the absolutism of the Stuarts.

The riots led to renewed attempts to prevent government interference in the way Kirk ministers were chosen, which came close to success in the General Assembly in 1782.

By 1783, the year the war with

America ended, an annual

'Convention' for burgh reform began to meet in Scotland to demand political reform, and although they met with great difficulties in their efforts, they continued to meet until the outbreak of the French Revolution.

The Church of Scotland minister Charles Nisbet, later an emigrant to Pennsylvania, wrote to John Witherspoon at Princeton in 1784 that: "People of fashion and such as would be thought courtiers still say that America might easily have been conquered, but the case is otherwise with the common people, who rejoice in that liberty which they are sensible they want, and which they hope to share."

That hope would manifest itself with some force by the time of the French Revolution. ●



# The forgotten literary giant with a razor pen

**He was the complete writer - novelist, historian, poet, even fiery journalist. Sometimes his acidic words and fiery nature landed him in trouble. But no one ever doubted here was a master**

Burns found his humour 'incomparable' and praised the 'glorious verses' of his 'Ode to Independence'. For Scott, his genius 'may be said to resemble that of Rubens'. But today Tobias Smollett (1721-1771) is one of the neglected giants of Scottish literature.

Prodigious of output, Smollett reflects the enterprise of Scots in response to the Union with England. Besides his novels, Smollett could claim distinction as poet, historian, travel-writer, editor, translator, and journalist. With his concern for improvement in the human condition, he directs Augustan (a style of classical refinement) satire to the goals of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Born in March, 1721, Smollett attended Dumbarton Grammar School and Glasgow University, and in 1736 he was apprenticed to surgeons William Stirling and John Gordon. According to Dr John Moore, it was among Glasgow merchants and professionals that he first found targets for his virulent wit and "gave offence to the more serious part of the citizens".

Aged 18, Smollett headed to London. Hostilities with Spain saw Smollett sailing to the Caribbean as surgeon's mate on the *Chichester*. The disastrous attempt to seize the Spanish stronghold of Cartagena elicited from Smollett in 'Roderick Random' (1748) one of the most graphic prose accounts of the sheer physical horror of warfare.

The work of such literary greats as Sassoon, Heller, Vonnegut and Herr, is here anticipated, Smollett wrote, "I have such a natural Horror of Cruelty that I cannot without

uncommon Warmth tolerate any instance of Inhumanity."

Breadth of social observation characterised Scottish writing from the Makars to Ramsay and Fergusson. As a Scot writing in English, Smollett makes his distinctive mark on the English novel. It is the Scottish fondness for the bizarre or grotesque that distinguishes Smollett's legacy to the English novel.

'Roderick Random' begins in stock 18th century autobiographical fashion, but soon there is evidence of Scottish literature's habit of mingling contraries, letting the bizarre protrude through the patina of normality.

During pregnancy, Roderick's mother 'dreamed she was delivered of a tennis ball', with the Devil attending as midwife. Smollett's cultural roots are plainly in a tradition characterised by what a respected literary scholar has termed "a grotesque exaggeration - a reckless irreverence, an eldritch imaginative propensity".

These qualities are evident in his caricatures (part of his legacy to Dickens). Lavement, the apothecary, in 'Roderick Random' is "a little old withered man, with a forehead about an inch high, a nose turned up at the end, large cheek bones that helped to form a pit for his little grey eyes, a great bag of loose skin hanging down on each side in wrinkles, like the alforjas of a baboon".

The novel 'Humphry Clinker' (1771), reproduces the letters of a diverse family group - irascible Welsh squire, Matt Bramble, his spinster sister, Tabitha, nephew Jerry Melford, an Oxford undergraduate



**Tobias Smollett, trained as a surgeon, before his urge to write took him to London. His finely-observed character studies and fishhook criticism brought him attention. His own critics accused him of Scottish bias, but he could also be outspoken about his homeland.**

niece to a ... and 1770 takes the ... to ... Harrogate, York and ... Edinburgh, Glasgow, Argyle and Dumfries, and back to

south Wales. The account of the journey dictates the form of the novel, and each traveller is on a quest - Matt seeks health; Tabitha, a husband; Lydia, her beau; Jerry, education in the wider world, and Win, elevated status as wife-to-be of Humphry, revealed as Matt's love-child.

The choice of narration by letters



stroke. Unknowingly, the towns reveal themselves through the choices of subject and the hypochondriac Matt who engage in amateur diagnosis, the sex-starved sister tells her housekeeper to ensure the maids are not 'rumping with the men'; the undergraduate writes as 'a spectator at life's farce'; Lydia swoons in the manner of the romances on which she has been reared; and Win, like Tabitha, mangles the English language with slips of Freudian dimension ('I defy the devil to say I am a tail carrier', 'you would be surprised, Molly, to receive a bride's fever from your humble servant' but this is all suppository, dear girl').

Since the writers experience the same events but respond differently, the novel is remarkably modern in its stressing of subjectivity, relativity, what might be termed 'multiple truth'. Matt's sensory organs are offended by the Edinburgh practice of 'discharging all their impurities from their windows at a certain hour of the night'; for Win, 'this fluff' prevented what she terms 'a fit of astericks'.

Smollett spent turbulent years in London, when suspicion of the Scotsman on the make was rife, and his situation was exacerbated by his forthright personality and his editorship of 'The Briton' (1762-3), supporting the unpopular Bute administration. Thus one function of 'Humphry Clinker' is to introduce Scotland to English readers.

At Newcastle, a wag intimates that the diet of the Scots is exclusively oatmeal and sheeps' heads; the credulous Tabitha suggests loading a pack-horse with provisions, validating Jerry's claim that 'the people at the other end of the island know as little of Scotland as of Japan'.

Scotland is found to have preserved its identity for Jerry 'their looks, their language, and their customs, are so different from ours, that I can hardly believe myself in Great Britain'.

Contemporaries accused Smollett of a pro Scots bias, but he takes care to qualify enthusiasm with criticism or advice. Matt praises the 'kindness and hospitality' of the citizens of Edinburgh but notes that 'their weak side seems to be vanity'.

Counter to the views of the Scots Lieutenant Lismahago, most original of Smollett's 'originals', he recommends the Scots 'to adopt English idioms'. He lauds Edinburgh 'the seat of genius', but observes 'the loss of European trade,

■ **Humphry Clinker (right) became a favourite character in Smollett's last novel of that name. The sketch of engaging Humphry is by Frank Richards.**

the towns of Fife 'have fallen into decay since the union'.

Glasgow is 'one of the prettiest towns in Europe' and 'a perfect beehive in point of industry'.

Matt comments on the 'venerable cathedral' and the 'college' [Glasgow University, then on the High Street], but identifies as a drawback the 'hard and brackish' water, observing 'It is of more consequence to consult the health of the inhabitants in this article, than to employ so much attention in beautifying their town with new streets, squares, and churches'.

The Highlands elicit revealing responses. When news of Culloden reached London, Smollett, no Jacobite, had written 'The Tears of Scotland'. In 'Humphry Clinker', there is sympathy for the treatment of the clans, 'disarmed and deprived of their ancient garb' after the 'fury' comments. 'Certain it is, the government could not have taken a more effectual method to break their national spirit' earlier he has identified their fondness for a 'tangible spirit', 'which they swallow in great quantities, without any signs of inebriation'.

Witnessing the unpopular 'travels' of the Highlands, Matt, ever more practical the further he travels suggests re-settlement in preference to the colonising of America. And Smollett leads Scott in promoting tourism: Loch Lomond is viewed ecstatically, but Matt is unerring & accurate 'this country would be a perfect paradise, if it was not, like Wales, cursed with a weeping climate'.

Smollett re-visited Scotland in 1766, making notes on which parts of 'Humphry Clinker' were based. Ironically, however, as was later the case with Stevenson, he wrote most effectively of Scotland from a distance - his last home, the villa Il Giardino, in the hills above Leghorn in Italy, where he died in September, 1771, three months after the publication of his greatest novel.

Feisty throughout his life - he spent three months in prison for his largely justified pillorying of Admiral Knowles - he remained resolute to the last. The diary of Dr. Gentili, who attended him in his last hours, says much: 'He has vigour, fiery temperament, will not drink'. ●





# Economic guru who influenced the world



**Dateline Kirkcaldy, 17**  
the young Forth-estua  
town was Adam Smith  
birthplace in 1723 and  
there he returned to  
complete 'The Wealth  
Nations'. Smith never  
had his portrait painted

**Even today Smith is alive and thriving in business policies around the globe. Simply, he was ahead of his time and is seen as the father of modern economics**

**A**dam Smith was born in Kirkcaldy in 1723. His father, also Adam, who died before his son was born, was a Writer to the Signet, Private Secretary to the Earl of Loudon, and Clerk to the Court Martial in Scotland. Later Smith senior was to become Comptroller of Customs in the town.

Adam Smith's mother was Margaret Douglas of Strathendry, the daughter of a substantial landed family in the Fife. Smith entered Glasgow University in 1737, at the early age of 14.

He was fortunate in his mother's choice of university and in the period of his attendance. By the time Smith entered the university, the old non-specialised system of 'regenting' had been replaced by a new arrangement whereby particular individuals literally professed a single subject. Two men in particular are worthy of note in view of Smith's later interests.

The first of these is Robert Simson (1687-1768), the Professor of Mathematics and the first Clerk of Senate. But important as Simson's influence was, it pales in comparison with that exerted by Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), who had been appointed

to the Chair of Moral Philosophy in 1729.

Dugald Stewart, Smith's memorialist, observes that Hutcheson's lectures "appear to have contributed very powerfully to diffuse, in Scotland, the taste for analytical discussion, and that spirit of liberal enquiry, to which the world was indebted for some of the most valuable productions of the 18th century."

Hutcheson's radical politics were to have a profound effect upon American opinion during the course of the War for Independence.

It is believed Smith graduated from Glasgow in 1740 and certain he was elected to the Society of Antiquaries in that year. The scholarship (Oxford) still exists. Smith matriculated at Oxford and did not return to Scotland until 1746, a year which marked the end of the Jacobite Rebellion and the death of Hutcheson.

The six years spent in Balliol were not an unhappy one. But Smith later acknowledged that his time at Oxford not least because he was able to gain access to the riches of the Bodleian Library, which enabled him to further develop his interests in literature and the sciences. Smith returned to

Glasgow in 1746 having abandoned all views on the subject of government without any fixed plan. In 1748 he was commissioned by three Glasgow gentlemen, James Kames, to deliver a series of lectures on the "extra-mural" nature of the subject.

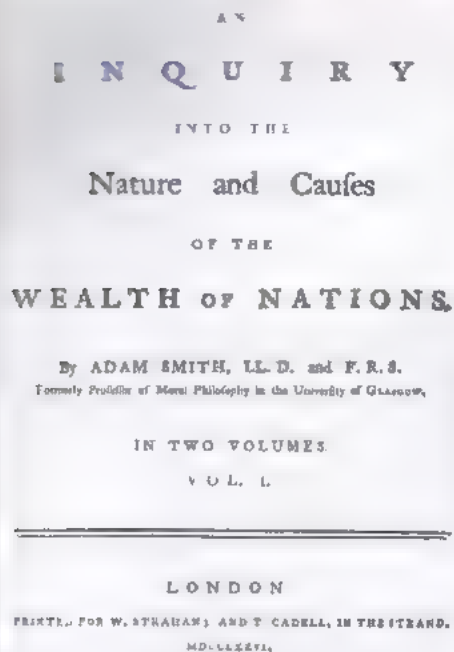
These lectures, broadly literary in nature, were delivered in a respectable auditory and, as David Hume noted, brought an income of about 100 pounds a year. The success of these lectures led to Smith's appointment to the Chair of Rhetoric and Poetics in Glasgow in 1751. In the following year, he was translated to Hutcheson's Chair of Moral Philosophy.

John Millar, perhaps Smith's most famous student, and later to become Regius Professor of Law, confirmed Smith's lecture course fell into three main parts: ethics, jurisprudence, and economics.

Millar also confirmed that the lectures on ethics formed the basis of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* which first appeared in 1759, with six further editions published, and that the lectures on 'expediency' found a place in the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, with a fifth edition in 1789.

Smith himself informed readers of the last edition of the *Moral Sentiments* that he still intended to complete his series of published works with a 'theory of jurisprudence' even if his





■ The economic masterpiece argued over since 1776 – and its author, philosopher Adam Smith.

advanced age' worked against him. Charles Townshend, of Stamp Act fame, had married the widowed Countess of Dalkeith and was so impressed by the *Moral Sentiments* that he persuaded Smith to resign his Chair to become tutor to the young Duke of Buccleuch. The appointment, which brought Smith £300 a year for life, took him to France, where he was able to make contact with the French Economists (Physiocrats) during the course of 1766. Perhaps the most important were Francois Quesnay (1694-1774), the Royal Physician and friend of Madame de Pompadour, and A.R.J. Turgot (1727-91), the ill-fated Minister of Finance in the reign of Louis XVI. Smith returned to Great Britain towards the end of 1766, following the death of the Duke's younger brother. He seems to have spent the next decade in the preparation of the *Wealth of Nations*, which was published in March, 1776. While flawed, the work is a remarkable achievement, not least because Smith presented a model of the economic process which featured distinct areas of activity and three factors of production – land, labour and capital – to which there corresponded distinct categories of return: rent, wages, and profit. Working in terms of period analysis, Smith presented a model which allowed his readers to appreciate that commodities withdrawn from the market in the course of one time period, or a series of time-periods, would be replaced by present and future productive activity – an endless cycle of withdrawal and replacement. The model also made it possible for Smith to identify a series of distinct yet inter-related problems all of which must be understood if the system is to attain an understanding of the system – the Newtonian idea. He addressed such problems as price, distribution (of income), macrostatics and dynamics. The argument as a whole emphasised the role of the individual and the distinctive features of

Smith's argument. In particular, Smith was opposed to regulation of economic activity on the ground that it distorts the allocation of resources. One classic example of this line of argument is provided by Smith's critique of the 'mercantile system', best represented by his analysis of the policy which regulated trade between Great Britain and the American Colonies. It was Smith's contention that a system which had generated interdependent markets in the short run, must inevitably run into difficulties as the rate of growth in the colonies accelerated. Smith was an advocate of union with the colonies and Ireland as a means of solving a long-run economic problem and the more immediate and dramatic political crisis of the 1770s. In fact, he believed that in the event of union the seat of government would eventually be transferred to Philadelphia. Smith also re-affirmed his early claim with respect to economic liberty. The argument has proved attractive. George Stigler, the late Nobel Laureate, was not being wholly facetious when he remarked on the occasion of the celebrations held in Glasgow in 1976 that "Adam Smith was alive and well, and living in Chicago." One has to recall, however, that Smith defended the provision of public works (including education) "which were of such a nature, that the profit could never repay the expense to any individual or small number of individuals, and which it, therefore, cannot be expected that any individual or small number of individuals should erect or maintain." He also articulated a very general principle in stating: "Those exertions of the natural liberty of a few individuals, which might endanger the security of the whole society are, and ought to be, restrained by the laws of all governments". Smith's economic analysis gave the discipline its modern shape while his policy prescriptions have proved to be enduringly attractive. ■

## THE RISE OF A JACOBITE VISIONARY

James Steuart was the son of Sir James Steuart (1681-1727), Solicitor-General, and Anne Dalrymple, the eldest daughter of the Lord President of the Court of Session. James attended the Parish School in North Berwick and entered the University of Edinburgh in 1724-25. Ten years later he qualified as an advocate. He then embarked upon a Foreign Tour (1734-35) which took him to Holland, France, Spain and Italy.

It is known that Steuart was in Rome in 1739, and while there committed himself to the Jacobite cause. In Lyons, en route home, he met Lord Elibank and later married his sister, Lady Frances Wemyss.

Steuart was called upon to confirm his loyalty to the Jacobite cause after the Highland army entered Edinburgh. He was then sent as Ambassador to Versailles but after Culloden, Steuart continued to work for Prince Charles, although gradually he began to distance himself from the party.

Steuart was concerned to avoid further annoyance to the British Government and moved to Tubingen in Germany prior to the outbreak of war with France in 1756. It was in Tubingen he completed the first two books of his 'Principles of Political Economy', published in 1767.

In the early 1760s, during a visit to the Holy Roman Empire, Steuart was arrested by the French who attached importance to his knowledge of the fragile French economy, and his possession of weapons – and probably planned – plans for the invasion of Haiti. On the declaration of peace in 1763, Steuart returned to London, although he was not pardoned until 1771.

Over 25 years Steuart built up a unique knowledge of economic conditions on the Continent, which left him acutely aware of a wide range of contemporary problems. He was concerned with the relations between relatively backward and advanced economies; regional imbalances and structural unemployment. He is very informative regarding conditions in Scotland, later advocating the proposed Forth and Clyde Canal.

Adam Smith did not address any of these problems, despite their obvious relevance to the 18th century and showed little interest in Scottish concerns. In view of later developments, it is ironic that in the late 18th century it was Steuart rather than Smith who was regarded as the more relevant, especially in the context of the Republic where protection against possible British domination was to be appropriate.



# Forged by fire, sword

■ Before the New Town was built, Edinburgh clung defensively to its spine of rock from the Castle down to Holyrood.



**Peoples came and left, but that great rock fortress above Princes Street held warriors fighting to survive from the very beginning**

**T**he symbols of ancient Edinburgh stand clearly for all to see: a palace for a king, castle for a soldier, abbey for a churchman, with the extinct volcano of Arthur's Seat the tell-tale of the city's explosive beginnings that shaped the landscape.

Like Rome, Edinburgh is built on seven hills: Arthur's Seat, Blackford Hill, Calton Hill, the Castle Rock, Corstorphine Hill, Craiglockhart Hill and the Braids – and the

Pentland Hills and Lammermuir heave up beyond.

The forces of these unique Edinburgh shapes first from the lava

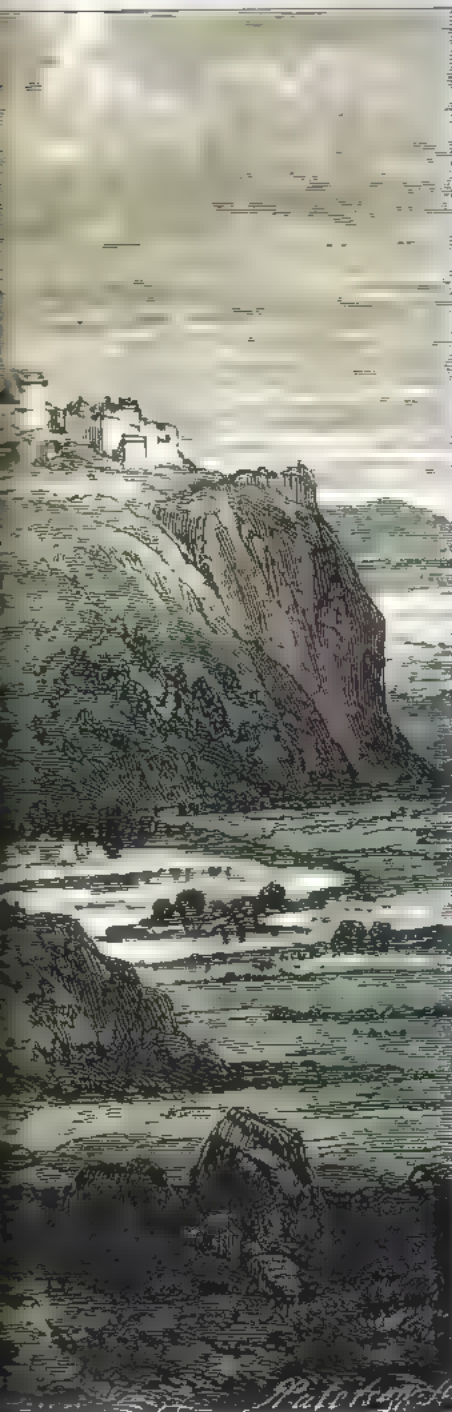
This ancient lava flow, known as the Blackford Hill, covered Edinburgh for 2,000ft, almost twice the height of the Pentlands. Blackford Hill is a good example

of the long and tail shape of the lava flow. The lava withdrew from the city, leaving the oldest rocks in the city. Parts of the lava that once flowed across a red sandstone desert before being tossed, splintered and contorted to create valleys and hills as the ice carried all before it.

The first Edinburgh people made their homes on the seven hills. Being high meant being safer. Their homes were easier to protect against wild animals – and also from the people



# and dozens of religion



■ When Arthur's Seat breathed fire: the prehistoric Edinburgh scene, but with the modern city in its place.

they gave it a name. The oldest name of the city is Din Eidyn (Dunedin), which most likely means the dun or fortress of the district of Eiden 'Dun' translated into Anglo Saxon is 'burgh' so Dun-Eidyn becomes Edin-burgh, although in Gaelic it would translate as the 'hall fort of the sloping ridge'

In those early days the great forest of Drumsheugh was all around. It was dominated by oak, but elm, wild cherry, Scots pine, birch and elder would have made it a handsome sight

The forest was plentiful with wildlife, including deer and boar, and the menace of the wolf was ever present. It became the natural hunting ground for the first kings of Scotland, who made their stronghold the wooden structure on top of its rock that we now know as Edinburgh Castle

When the Romans came they built their fort and port at Cramond at the mouth of the River Almond, where remains of some of their villas are still visible. The large stone lion found in the estuary silt in 1997 also dates from this time. The Roman

writer Ptolemy gives an account of Edinburgh's early Celtic people who belonged to a tribe he called Votadini

As the Romans left, the Votadini became increasingly powerful and there are heroic tales told of their chosen warriors who set up court in their castle on the rock. It is said they were warlike, rode fine steeds, wore rich clothing and held banquets in the great hall where they drank mead from golden goblets

The town of Edinburgh began to grow just an arrow-shot from the Castle's entrance. The ordinary people lived outside the Castle and tilled the soil and grazed cattle. In those days, lochs, burns and marshlands were all around and people cut reeds from these areas to thatch their cottages

The early Edinburgh people in some instances became Christian through a series of unplanned contacts. The Word would have been spread northwards by Roman soldiers but missionaries of the Columban church also came to the area

Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth is

the island of Columba and St Cuthbert set up his church in what is now West Princes Street Gardens

Picts, Romans, Angles and Scots held the Castle and left their imprints. Under the Angles it became one of Northumbria's main centres. Later, the Normans called it Castrum Puellarum, the Maidens Castle

It was surrendered to the Scots King Indulph in the 10th century and many of the Gaelic placenames in the area date from this time

It is from the reign of King Malcolm and his saintly Queen Margaret in the 11th century that Edinburgh begins to be identified as a town rather than a dominating fortress. From charters granted by Edinburgh to other towns it is revealed how liberties, legal practices, the rules governing buying and selling enjoyed in royal Edinburgh were being extended. The 'Laws of the Four Burghs' became one of the earliest codes of civil law

The town enjoyed a monopoly on the sale in the market of such items as bread, ale and cloth and the toll

the other hills who may have  
ons on a wife or food. The  
but circles, cultivation  
s and hilt arts are seen on  
east of Dunsapie Crag  
r's Bog. On the  
raphine Hill  
visible. The Castle Rock, however, is  
the only hill that has been  
from the beginning

As these peoples came together





■ The way it was: This was the scene before Princes Street Gardens. The Nor Loch is in the foreground, where the railway runs today, St Cuthbert's Church is in the centre and the houses on the right are where Edinburgh's busy West End is now situated.

► or tax of petty custom had to be paid on everything bought in the market. Exported goods attracted greater custom

Edinburgh began to develop around a wide street on the rocky ridge leading from the Castle and became known as the High Street, which grew into a vibrant market place and a centre of business. Many of the houses at this time were of wood, probably hewn from the Burgh Muir, the common grazing ground to the south of the city, where no man dared visit after dark for fear of ghosts as well as bandits

A defensive wall was built with two main gates, one at the Netherbow, the eastern entrance, half way down what is now the Royal Mile. The West Port, or westerly gate, was in the Grassmarket

At the other end of Edinburgh's rock spine, the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood were founded by King David I in 1128

Houses were soon sprouting up there, too, and it began to develop uphill. It was called the Canongate and, as the years passed, Edinburgh and the Canongate met at the Netherbow

Slowly the features we recognise

today in the Medieval Old Town began to be set in place. The High Kirk of St Giles – named after a 6th century Greek hermit – goes back to the year 854. It suffered assaults and burnings, then rebuilding and enhancements, but in 1500 its distinctive crown or lantern tower was built

In 1632, on the wish of Charles I, the Scottish Parliament moved out of the Great Hall of the Castle to a new Parliament Hall, which replaced some of the Collegiate building of St Giles

The so-called 'John Knox House' was completed around 1490, about the same time as the Canongate Tolbooth. Edinburgh's Tolbooth, where public hangings once took place, was on the Heart of Midlothian site outside St Giles

Canongate Church was erected in 1688, and the Tron Church, at the junction with North Bridge, was opened for worship in 1647. A tron was a public weighing machine and the salt tron was located near the Tron Kirk, while the butter tron was in the Lawnmarket

As its history unfolded, the Old Town of Edinburgh withstood plague and burning, hellfire from religious

zealots and canon fire

Famous players, kings, soldiers and writers – James Bruce, Mary, Queen of Scots, Oliver Cromwell, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, Robert Burns and Walter Scott – all held their ground in Edinburgh's great stage

But after the 1707 Union there came a time when the city's growth outgrew its defensive ridge. Stone had replaced the wooden buildings, the houses stretched up a hillside, the skyscrapers of many stories known as 'lands' which were the first tenements, with a small garden in the stair

Scotland's rapid growth in the 18th century was one of the most remarkable in Europe and one of the most attractive. The lack of sanitation, the crumbling buildings, the overcrowding, the stifled opportunity through shortage of space, the situation intolerable – and it was worsening

By 1760 the east end peace and the stability that Scotland was bringing prospered

The first real estate was the money was to be made in Edinburgh and it was acting as a magnet to people from around Scotland. Quite

simply, Edinburgh had no alternative but to expand. But where and how?

As so often happens the need discovered the man. Lord Provost George Drummond had the vision, passion, single-mindedness and political skill to make it happen

Perthshire born Drummond, a Whig and kirk elder, who had seen action at Sheriffmuir and was among General John Cope's sprinters after Prestonpans, was well respected

Now he had major decisions to make. He eyed the windswept Lang Gait, the grassy ridge opposite the Castle that is now Princes Street, he saw the waving corn fields beyond, around what is now Queen Street and Heriot Row, but then part of Wood's Farm

He viewed the open countryside all the way down to the shores of the Forth. That was where he would build Edinburgh's new town

But it had to be special, a town to equal the finest in Europe, a town fit for Scotland's capital.

With a heart flutter of excitement, Drummond and those charged with turning the dream into brick and mortar substance realised that the creation of Edinburgh's new town would be their greatest challenge



# BREAKER OF TEETH

Related to hockey and hurling, shinty is fast, furious and unkind to mouths

**S**hinty – the Gaelic camanachd – is thousands of years old; indeed, it is probably Scotland's oldest surviving sport. Once played all over the land, it nearly died out at the end of the 19th century but managed to revive, and indeed thrive, in the west and central Highlands – not to mention Aberdeen and other places with a sizeable Highland community.

Superficially similar to hockey, shinty is played fast and furiously on a 200-yard pitch. The ball is of leather over cork, and sticks are hooked, with triangular cross sections which tend to fling the ball. As in ice hockey, both

sides of the hook are used to strike the ball, but there are no restrictions on the height to which a stick can be raised, so that front teeth often suffer.

Pitch, goals and penalty areas follow those of football field, though dimensions differ. Shinty is close to the Irish game of hurling, and international matches with combined rules have been played.

Many of its most vivid encounters were on New Year's Day, when hundreds of men and boys played in huge games on the sands at places like Calgary in Mull and Machrihanish on the Mull of Kintyre. Some matches were played on ice – on a loch or flooded meadow –

and this was one root of ice hockey.

In shinty's late-Victorian revival, it became established as a symbol of Gaelic identity. The Camanachd Association was founded in 1893 and the Camanachd Cup (1896) is still the most important competition.

The largest crowd ever to witness a shinty match was at the Murrayfield Highland Games in Edinburgh in 1947, when Ballachulish played Newtonmore.

To avoid breaking the players' amateur status, they were given pots instead of cash payment. This became known as the 'Pots and Pans' match. It is still completely amateur. ●



● Shinty on the frozen Duddingston Loch, Edinburgh, on New Year's Day. The artist, Charles Doyle, was the father of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.



# Why Burns shed a tear for Wallace



**The story of how Wallace hid in Leglen Wood beside the River Ayr deeply affected the Bard - and later led to the greatest battle hymn ever written, says biker historian David Ross**

Every time I look at images of Burns I feel we are not seeing the 'real' man. In many portraits he appears almost effeminate, as if he has been sanitised in some way.

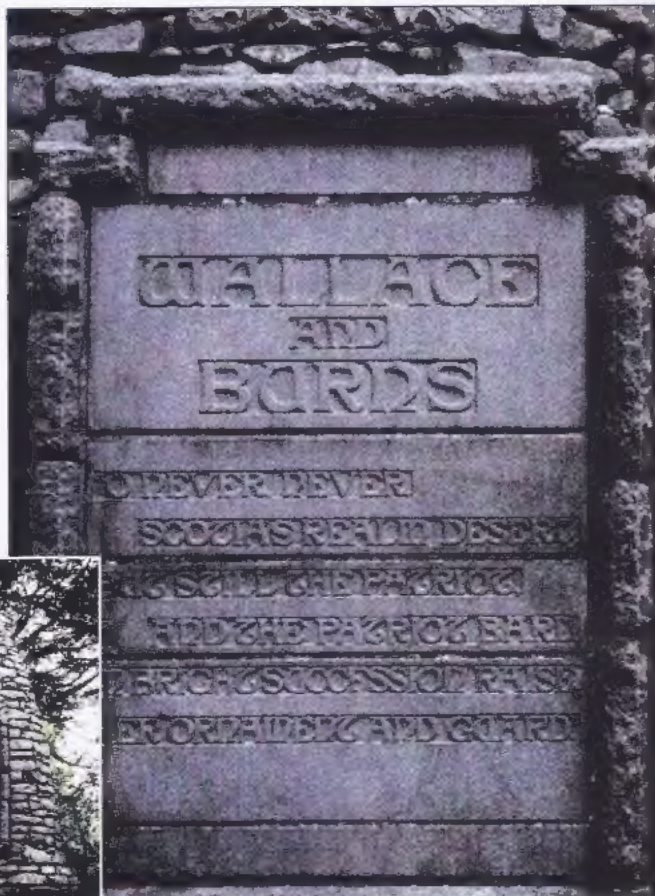
I imagine the real Burns, used to hard farm labour, would have been the type of man you would not like to give you a punch.

There are all the obvious sites to visit which have a Burns connection - his birthplace cottage at Alloway, the bridge over the River Doon, where the witches snatched the tail from Tam's grey mare, and the Globe Inn in Dumfries that is essentially unchanged since Burns' day.

But there are other lesser-known sites that I find equally poignant. One such is Leglen Wood. When Burns was a boy he was regaled with stories of the exploits of William Wallace. He was familiar with Blind Harry's book on the deeds of Wallace, a work written in the late 1400s and the second biggest selling book ever in Scotland (number one, of course, being the Bible).

Harry's book tells how Wallace hid from pursuers in Leglen Wood on the River Ayr. In later life, Burns recalled how Wallace's story caused him to shed a tear, and he stated that when he was a boy he "chose a fine summer Sunday, the only day of the week in my power, and walked the half-a-dozen miles to pay my respects to the Leglen Wood with as much devout enthusiasm as ever Pilgrim did to Lorreto".

Like many a child, Burns



■ The cairn in Leglen Wood to both William Wallace and Robert Burns, the patriot and the patriot bard.

explored all the wood's secret places, imagining Wallace with his mighty sword upon his back, skulking in the caves or moving stealthily through the undergrowth.

Burns also stated that he wished that one day he would be enough of a rhymers to be able to write a song to do justice to the deeds of Wallace. Burns' early forays into Leglen Wood were to result in the lyrics of 'Scots Wha Hae', his words welded onto an old soldiers' marching song dating back to the time of the Wars of Independence.

It seems amazing that this tune, so familiar to Scots today, was also well known to Wallace and Bruce.

It was even played to Joan of Arc at the siege of Orleans by the Scots bodyguard that formed her famous Garde d'Ecosse. Too often 'Scots Wha Hae' is played as a dirge, when it should really be hammered out with vigour, befitting the martial hymn that it is.

Burns stated that: "The story of Wallace poured a Scottish prejudice in my veins which will boil along there until the floodgates of life shut in eternal rest."

A cairn was erected in Leglen Wood in 1929, built in memory of both Wallace and Burns. If you

would like to visit this cairn, in a site familiar to two of Scotland's greatest heroes, you take the A77 running east of the town of Ayr itself. At the roundabout with the exit westwards marked 'Ayr north', take the route eastwards on the B743 towards Mossblown. A little further along this road, a side turning south takes you into the grounds of Auchencruive Agricultural College.

The road crosses the River Ayr by means of Oswald's Bridge, and directly on your right stands the cairn amongst the trees of the wood.

Only a dozen miles further south on the A77 is the village of Kirkoswald. The little kirk here, from which the village takes its name, is ancient. A wander around the graveyards will reveal the last resting place of Burns' grandparents, and those of Burns' two great cronies, Tam O'Shanter and Souter Johnnie.

Souter Johnnie's cottage in the village is open as a museum.

Within the now roofless church is an old carved stone font. It is believed locally that Robert the Bruce, born at nearby Turnberry Castle, was baptised in it. ●



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